

## Center for Slavic and East European Studies

# Newsletter

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California  
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JUN 08 2006

### VICTORIA BONNELL ON "MOSCOW REVISITED: A VIEW FROM BELOW"

By Diane Doucette, Third-Year Graduate Student  
In the Department of Political Science

GTU LIBRARY

Victoria Bonnell, professor in the Department of Sociology at UC Berkeley, shared some impressions of her recent trip to Moscow at a Brown Bag Lunch on November 30. An historical sociologist who has spent many years studying urban movements in prerevolutionary Russia, Professor Bonnell went to the Soviet Union hoping to learn more about the role of social forces in the Gorbachev era. In Moscow she found little of the West's enthusiasm and euphoria over Gorbachev's reforms.

Professor Bonnell suggested that Gorbachev's revolution from above has been slow in gaining momentum, as it has failed to bring about radical change from below. The main obstacle to change at the societal level is due to what she terms civic cynicism: a profound mistrust of political authority and official discourse which has deepened in recent years, reinforced by the current scathing and graphic indictments of the Soviet system by the mass media.

She depicted daily life in Moscow as a Hobbesian type of existence--nasty and brutish. The nastiness and brutishness of social interactions have intensified in proportion to the conditions of scarcity and the general deterioration of public facilities over the past decade. Life resembles a kind of warfare, pitting citizen against citizen in a never-ending series of cruel tactical encounters.

For Gorbachev's reforms to succeed, he must surmount the pervasive cynicism; to accomplish this, he has promoted various reforms designed to democratize party and state institutions and to encourage the formation of voluntary associations. Professor Bonnell is particularly interested in these voluntary associations, as she believes they are important indicators of fundamental changes at the grassroots level, reflecting the emergence of a civil society. Their appearance, she argued, is the most promising sign yet that a new sphere for autonomous social action has opened up in the Soviet Union.

But the liberalization of social policy cannot be explained merely as an instrumentalist aspect of Gorbachev's program for achieving economic reform. Nor is it a tactical move or a grudging concession to a domestic or foreign constituency. Rather, Gorbachev wants to arouse the population from the paralysis induced by long years of civic cynicism, fear and general powerlessness. The tolerance for autonomous organizations, as well as for new forms of public action generated by these organizations, is an intrinsic aspect of Gorbachev's strategy for change--a *sine qua non* of its progress. Professor Bonnell concluded her remarks by noting that "...just as it has been said of early modern Europe: No bourgeoisie, no democracy, so today we may say of communist societies: No voluntary associations, no perestroika."



## EARLY 1989 PUBLICATIONS FROM UC PRESS

Islam and the Russian Empire: Reform and Revolution in Central Asia by Hélène Carrère d'Encausse; translated by Quintin Hoare, with an introduction by Maxime Rodinson

Focusing on the state of Bukhara, this account of the conflict between the central authority of the Russian empire and its Muslim regions covers the periods before, during and immediately after the Revolution. Islam and the Russian Empire analyses the Muslim reformist movement within the Bukharan intelligentsia which developed after Bukhara became a Russian Protectorate in 1868, and follows the movement through its eventual absorption into the Bolshevik Revolution (Available February 1989). Hélène Carrère d'Encausse teaches at the Paris Institut d'Études Politiques.

Polish Sacred Philology in the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation: Chapters in the History of the Controversies (1551-1632) by David A. Frick

David A. Frick, associate professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at UC Berkeley, examines a local variant of a question debated throughout Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: whether and how to translate the Bible into national languages. The debate centers on philological concerns: the assimilation and application of techniques for the establishment of a text, and the development of methods for its translation into Polish. The author presents to a general audience a little-known chapter in the European confessional debate (Available January 1989).

Students, Professors, and the State in Tsarist Russia by Samuel D. Kassow

In the first comprehensive study of the student movement during the final years of the empire, Dr. Kassow concentrates on the interplay among student protest, faculty politics and government policy toward the universities (Available March 1989). Samuel D. Kassow is professor of history at Trinity College.

Visiting scholar Gail Kligman's The Wedding of the Dead: Ritual, Poetics, and Popular Culture in Transylvania, is also available. (See the October 1988 issue of the newsletter.) Dr. Kligman is associate professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Texas, Austin.

## INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONS IN HUNGARY A Brown Bag Lunch Talk With Karoly Soos

By Jason McDonald, Third-Year Graduate Student  
In the Department of Political Science . . .

Dr. Karoly Soos, research fellow at the Institute of Economics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, spoke November 28 on the growing independence of Hungary's official unions, and on the rise of a small independent union among Hungarian intellectuals.

Dr. Soos discussed the weakening of central control over the official trade unions in the 1980s, which he views as being primarily a strategy to co-opt worker demands and thereby prevent the rise of Solidarity-like trade unions in Hungary. He noted that official unions, designed during the Stalinist era, are ill-equipped to represent the interests of today's workers. He then turned to the rise of unofficial unionism among intellectuals, in part a result of official efforts to force intellectual institutions onto a cost-accounting basis. The unofficial union, confined largely to intellectuals, is weak in relation to the established unions and is not a threat to the government at present. However, should the new unionism spread to the working class, Soos concluded that government attitudes would probably change dramatically.



## GRAD STUDENTS: SHORT-TERM POSITIONS AVAILABLE

**Assistant Director/Semester Program:** The Associated Colleges of the Midwest, in conjunction with the Great Lakes Colleges Association (ACM/GLCA), seeks an advanced graduate student with excellent language competence and experience in the USSR to act as assistant director of a semester program based at Kuban State University in Krasnodar.

Working with the program director, Professor Robert Givens of the Department of History, Cornell College, the assistant director will help students to take advantage of the academic and extracurricular opportunities available during a semester's study in the Soviet Union. The assistant director will operate out of Kuban State University; salary for the Fall semester, living costs and round trip transportation will be provided. The application deadline is MARCH 15, 1989. For more information about the program and the position, contact: Professor Robert Givens, Department of History, Cornell College, Mount Vernon, IA 52314.

NOTE: Send application letters to: Elizabeth R. Hayford, President, ACM, 18 South Michigan, Suite 1010, Chicago, IL 60603.

**Coordinator/Instructor for UOP Summer Language Institute:** The University of the Pacific (UOP) in Stockton, CA, seeks a coordinator and instructor for the Russian section of a new Summer Language Institute, to be held over a 9-week period during summer 1989. This will be an immersion-style program, located on the University's Feather River property. In addition to teaching, the person hired will be in charge of directing three levels of Russian--first through third year. We will consider advanced graduate students. For further information contact: Paul Karpuk, assistant professor of Russian, at 209/946-2909, Department of Modern Language and Literature, UOP, Stockton, CA 95211. You may also contact Ed Haley, Dean of the School of International Studies, at 209/946-2650.

## SHORT COURSE ON THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL EUROPEAN CONFLICT OFFERED

The Inter-University Centre of Postgraduate studies, Dubrovnik, welcomes registrants to a course: "Coexistence and Conflict in Central Europe Since 1848," to be given April 17-28, 1989. Course directors are Erhard Busek (Vienna) and Péter Hanák (Budapest). Invited resource persons include Emil Brix (Vienna), Mirjana Gross (Zagreb), Jan Havranek (Prague), György Litván (Budapest), and Jiri Koralka (Prague). For course information and registration procedures, write course secretary László Kontler, Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute of History, H-1014 Budapest, Uri utca 51/53, Hungary, or contact the Inter-University Centre of Postgraduate Studies, Franca Bulića 4, YU-50 000, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia.

## PENPALS AND/OR TRANSLATORS SOUGHT

The California Association of Student Councils (CASC), located in Hayward, has been acting as a clearinghouse for Soviet students looking for American student penpals. Now their mailbox is full to overflowing with letters (most of them in Russian), from Soviet correspondents--some of whom have yet to receive a reply.

CASC is looking for students, including graduate students, interested in corresponding with a high school- through university-age Soviet student. CASC could also use help in translating letters for American penpals with no knowledge of Russian. Call or write CASC at 313 Winton Avenue, Hayward, CA 94544, 415/785-5583, if you can take the time to give them a hand, Spencerian or otherwise.



## SUPPORT OPPORTUNITIES

### New Program:

Social Science Research Council (SSRC)/International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX) Program For Participation of American Scholars in Soviet Sociological Research Projects:

The Joint Committee on Soviet Studies (JCSS) of the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) and the SSRC, joins with IREX in announcing a pilot program to enable a small number of graduate students and junior scholars to participate in research projects in the Soviet Union for a period of two to six months during 1989. Sites include Kiev, Leningrad, Moscow, Novosibirsk and several Baltic Republic cities.

Two to three appointments of senior scholars will also be made for one-, two-, or three-month periods, for programs of research on topics and at sites including, but not restricted to, those listed above.

Final participation and funding is contingent on acceptance by Soviet co-sponsors: the USSR Academy of Sciences, in conjunction with the Soviet Sociological Association. The application deadline is FEBRUARY 1, 1989. For further information and application materials, contact: Joint Committee on Soviet Studies, Sociology Subcommittee, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158; 212/661-0280.

American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR)/American Council For Collaboration in Education and Language Study (ACCELS) Programs For 1989-1990:

### Czech, Slovak and Hungarian Summer Language Study Exchanges:

Initiated in 1988, the East European exchanges provide intensive study in language and in teaching methodology at Karl Marx University in Budapest (Hungarian), Charles University in Prague (Czech), and Comenius University in Bratislava (Slovak). The application deadline for Summer 1989 is MARCH 17, 1989. For application forms and further information contact: ACTR/ACCELS, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Suite 527, Washington, DC 20036; 202/328-2287.

Academic Year Programs in Moscow and Leningrad: Graduate students and teachers of Russian interested in pursuing practical language training and independent research are encouraged to apply. Scholars are placed at the Pushkin Institute in Moscow or at the Herzen Institute in Leningrad. Financial aid is available through ACTR. For more information contact ACTR: USSR Programs Group, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Suite 527, Washington, DC 20036; 202/328-2287. The deadline for application is FEBRUARY 27, 1989.

Note: The Variable Term Research Program also seeks applicants. Pre- and post-doctoral scholars will conduct independent research in Russian/Slavic linguistics and language teaching methodology. Placement is for a period of one to four months; a 500-750 word proposal is required. Deadlines are FEBRUARY 15, 1989, for Summer 1989; MAY 1, 1989, for Fall 1989; and NOVEMBER 1, 1989, for Spring 1990. For more information write ACTR: USSR Programs Group.

Semester Advanced Russian Language Study Programs in Moscow and Leningrad: The programs are open to undergraduate and graduate students who have completed at least three years of college-level Russian or its equivalent. Students are placed at the Pushkin Institute, the G. V. Plekhanov Institute of Economics, the Moscow Energy Institute, the Moscow Steel and Alloys Institute, and the Herzen Institute



in Leningrad. Financial aid is available through ACTR. Application deadlines are as follows: Fall semester 1989: FEBRUARY 20, 1989; Spring semester 1990: SEPTEMBER 23, 1989. Write ACTR: USSR Programs Group.

**Summer Advanced Russian Language Study Programs in Moscow and Leningrad:** The program is open to undergraduate and graduate students who have completed at least two years of college-level Russian or its equivalent. Previous USSR program participants are invited to study in the ACTR Language Maintenance Program. Financial aid is available through ACTR. Note: The deadline for Summer 1989 is JANUARY 24, 1989; call ACTR at 202/328-2287 for application forms.

The University of Pittsburgh's 1989 **East European Summer Language Institute (EESLI)** will be held at Chatham College, June 18 through August 11, 1989, with the support of the American Council of Learned Societies. The eight-week institute will offer instruction in elementary and intermediate Polish and Serbo-Croatian, as well as elementary Bulgarian, Czech, Hungarian, Romanian, Slovak and Slovenian. Support is available. For further information and application forms contact: East European Summer Language Institute, 4G21 Forbes Quadrangle, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260; 412/648-9881.

The Social Science Research Council (SSRC) announces its fifth annual **Summer Workshop on Soviet and East European Economics**. The workshop, sponsored by the Joint Committee on Soviet Studies of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) and the American Council of Learned Societies, with the cooperation of the Joint Committee on Eastern Europe, will be held July 9-20, 1989, at the University of California, Berkeley, under the directorship of Professor Herbert S. Levine of the University of Pennsylvania. The application deadline for workshop participation is FEBRUARY 15, 1989. Direct inquiries to: Soviet and East European Economics Workshop, Joint Committee on Soviet Studies, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158; 212/661-0280.

The SSRC also announces the second annual **Summer Workshop on Soviet Domestic Politics and Society**. The workshop will take place June 5-16, 1989, at Massey College, University of Toronto, and will be co-directed by professors Peter Solomon (University of Toronto) and Thane Gustafson (Georgetown University). Workshop costs, including transportation, housing and stipends, will be provided by the SSRC. The application deadline is FEBRUARY 1, 1989. Inquiries and requests for application forms should be directed to: Domestic Politics Workshop, Joint Committee on Soviet Studies, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158; 212/661-0280.

Indiana University, Bloomington, will sponsor a **Summer Workshop in Soviet and East European Languages** (formerly the Summer Slavic Workshop) June 16-August 11, 1989. The Workshop has three components: The Russian Program, first- through sixth-year studies; the East European Program, offering elementary Polish and Serbo-Croatian, with other languages to be announced; and the Soviet Languages Program, offering Uzbek and Georgian, other languages to be announced. The deadline for receipt of applications is MARCH 6, 1989. Late applications will be considered as space permits. A limited number of fellowships will be awarded. For application information contact: The Secretary, SWSEEL, BH 502, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405; 812/855-2608.

The Ford Foundation Fellowship Program in Combined Soviet/East European and International Security Studies (also known as the Dual Competence Program), invites



applications for its tenth-round competition. The one-year program, administered by Columbia University, is designed to support those with competence in Soviet and/or East European studies who wish to gain competence in international security studies, or vice versa. This is a training, not a research, award and is open to graduate degree and postdoctoral candidates. The application deadline is MARCH 1, 1989. For more information and application forms contact: Soviet/East European and International Security Program, Box 53 International Affairs Building, 420 West 118th Street, New York, NY 10027; 212/854-4669.

Harvard University's Center for Science and International Affairs (CSIA), a research center at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, seeks applicants for its 1989-90 fellowship program in international security studies. Fellows are expected to devote a part of their time to collaborative endeavors. **Research Fellowships:** Faculty members and recent recipients of the Ph.D. are encouraged to apply. Research fellows are expected to complete a book, monograph, etc., during their residency. **Pre-doctoral fellowships:** Applicants must have passed general examinations prior to their appointment. Fellows are required to work on their dissertations while in residence. For information on the application procedure, write Dr. Kurt M. Campbell, Assistant Director, Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, 79 John F. Kennedy Street, Cambridge, MA 02138. **NOTE:** Send completed applications to Veronica McClure, admissions assistant, at the above address. All materials must be received by FEBRUARY 28, 1989.

Stanford University's Center for International Security and Arms Control announces its international security and arms control fellowships for the 1988-89 academic year. Eligible applicants include advanced, pre-doctoral graduate students and postdoctoral scholars from all relevant disciplines. The Center does not confer degrees; financial support is available. For further information and application forms, write Gerry Bowman, Director of Fellowship Programs, Center for International Security and Arms Control, 320 Galvez Street, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305. The deadline for completed applications is MARCH 6, 1989.

The National Academy of Sciences seeks postdoctoral applicants for its exchange programs with the USSR and Eastern Europe. Pertinent disciplines include anthropology, archeology, geography, earth and social sciences (particularly science and technology policy studies and those aspects of the economic and social sciences involving quantitative analysis as a primary consideration). Short-term (one to two months) and long-term (three to twelve months) exchanges are available with the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia. For more information contact: Soviet and East European Affairs, Office of International Affairs, National Academy of Sciences, 2101 Constitution Avenue (HA-166), Washington, DC 20418; 202/334-2644.

The Third NEH Summer Institute in Russian Language and Culture will be held June 25-July 22, 1989, at Bryn Mawr College. Sponsored by the National Endowment For the Humanities (NEH) and the Center of Russian Language and Culture (CORLAC), Friends School, Baltimore, MD, in conjunction with the Russian Language Institute of Bryn Mawr College, the program is designed primarily for teachers of Russian at the pre-college level, but student teachers of Russian are also encouraged to apply. A stipend, room and board and other expenses are provided. The application deadline is MARCH 25, 1989. Contact CORLAC/NEH Institute, Friends School, 5114 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21210; 301/435-2800 x-3257.



The University of California's Education Abroad Program seeks applicants for its exchange program for "younger scholars" (postdocs and advanced doctoral students) with Leningrad State University. There are still openings for Fall 1989; some support is available. Call Dr. Birger A. Pearson, Associate Director, EAP, at 805/961-8336 or -3075 for more information. You may also call Dr. Jon Pariser, Assistant Director, EAP, at 408/429-4206.

The University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC), announces fellowships for the 1989-1990 academic year. Public policy fellowships for research on IGCC-related issues at cooperating public policy institutes and dissertation fellowships are among those offered. The application deadline is MARCH 10, 1989. For a detailed program description and application procedures contact the appropriate campus liaison (at Berkeley Call Harry Kreisler: 415/642-1106), or write the IGCC central office: Q-068, University of California at San Diego, La Jolla, CA 92093.

The Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowship Competition, sponsored by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, is open for application. One-year fellowships are offered for unclassified doctoral dissertation research in arms control and disarmament. Law candidates for the JD or higher degree are also eligible. The application deadline is MARCH 15, 1989. For more information write the HHH Fellowship Program, Office of Public Affairs, US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Washington, DC 20451.

**Fulbright Travel Grants:** Grants for international travel are newly available for US scholars who have confirmed affiliations for lecturing or research in a Soviet or East European academic program for a period of two months or more. The application deadline is FEBRUARY 1, 1989. For further information, please write the Council for International Exchange of Scholars, Eleven Dupont Circle, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20036-1257. You may also call CIES at the following numbers: Bulgaria, USSR: Craig Packard or Laurie Calhoun at 202/939-5419; Czechoslovakia, Hungary: Georgene Lovecky or Julie Moffett at 202/939-543434; GDR, Poland, Romania: Mu'iel Joffe or Hilary Lipin at 202/939-5418; Yugoslavia: Georgene Lovecky or Ruth Franz at 202/939-5420.

Note: Although the announced deadline of September 15 has passed, applications are still being accepted for some awards. Those interested may call the appropriate person listed above.

#### **Upcoming IREX Deadline:**

Developmental Fellowships: FEBRUARY 15, 1989.

Contact Stan Zylowski at IREX, 126 Alexander Street, Princeton, NJ 08540; 609/683-9500.

The Kosciuszko Foundation is offering full fellowships for study in Poland to faculty and doctoral candidates with excellent knowledge of Polish. Candidates must be of Polish background. For more information write: Grants Office, The Kosciuszko Foundation, 15 East 65th Street, New York, NY 10021.

#### **CENTER NEWS**

The Slavic Center has a compilation, in table form, of the Faculty Seminars in Comparative Study of Communist Society. The meeting date, month and year, speaker and affiliation are listed whenever possible, along with the topic under discussion. Although the meetings began in 1958, information on them is sketchy prior to 1966. The list was compiled by Gregory Grossman, professor in the Department of Economics, UC Berkeley.

**Attention Student Fellowship Holders:** The Center has a tax information sheet for recipients of grants, scholarships and fellowships.



Center for Slavic and East European Studies

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

Now through Feb 26  
M H De Young Museum  
8th Ave & Kennedy Dr  
Golden Gate Park SF

EXHIBIT: "The Art of Enchantment: Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, 1909-1929." Historic dance costumes, drawings, paintings, sculptures and other archival material from the 20-year collaboration of dancers, choreographers, composers and artists held together by the powerful personality of impresario Sergei Diaghilev.

Wed Jan 25  
442 Stephens  
NOON

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Center Research Associate Danuta Hubner will speak on "Harnessing the International Market Mechanism for Reforming East European Economies." Dr. Hubner is associate professor at the Institute of International Economic Relations, Central School of Planning and Statistics (CSPS), Warsaw; she also acts as Deputy Director of the Research Institute for Developing Countries at CSPS.

Sun Jan 29  
Pacific Film Archive  
2625 Durant Ave  
Berkeley  
642-1412

VIDEOS: PFA presents two videotapes: RISK GROUP (1987, 57 mins., black and white, in Russian with English voice-over); and MOSCOW DOES NOT BELIEVE IN QUEERS (1986, 27 mins., in color). Made for Soviet TV, A. Nikishin's RISK GROUP encompasses an assessment of AIDS in the USSR by the head of the Academy of Medical Sciences, and an investigative report on high-risk groups which, with its back-alley approach, reflects a moralistic view of the disease. MOSCOW DOES NOT BELIEVE IN QUEERS is a playful account of the 1985 Moscow Youth Festival by gay delegate John Greyson. He provides a candid look at contemporary gay life in the Soviet Union (includes sexually explicit scenes).

Wed Feb 1  
442 Stephens  
NOON

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Dr. Daniel Orlovsky, visiting professor in the Department of History at Stanford, will speak on "The Lower Middle Classes in Revolutionary Russia." Dr. Orlovsky is professor of history at Southern Methodist University.

Wed Feb 1  
World Affairs Cntr  
312 Sutter St SF  
5:15 pm reception  
5:45 pm program

LECTURE: Leslie Lipson, professor emeritus in the Department of Political Science, UC Berkeley, will speak on "Ethics in International Relations: Power and Morality." Tickets are \$3 members, \$6 non-members. Call the Council at 982-3778 for more information.


Wed Feb 8  
442 Stephens  
NOON

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Richard Buxbaum, professor in the UC Berkeley School of Law, will speak on "The 'Rule of Law' Debate in Eastern Europe Today."

Fri Feb 10  
442 Stephens  
NOON

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Detlef Brandes, visiting professor in the Department of History at Stanford, will speak on "Diplomatic Preparation for the Transfer of German Populations From East Central Europe, 1939-1943."





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